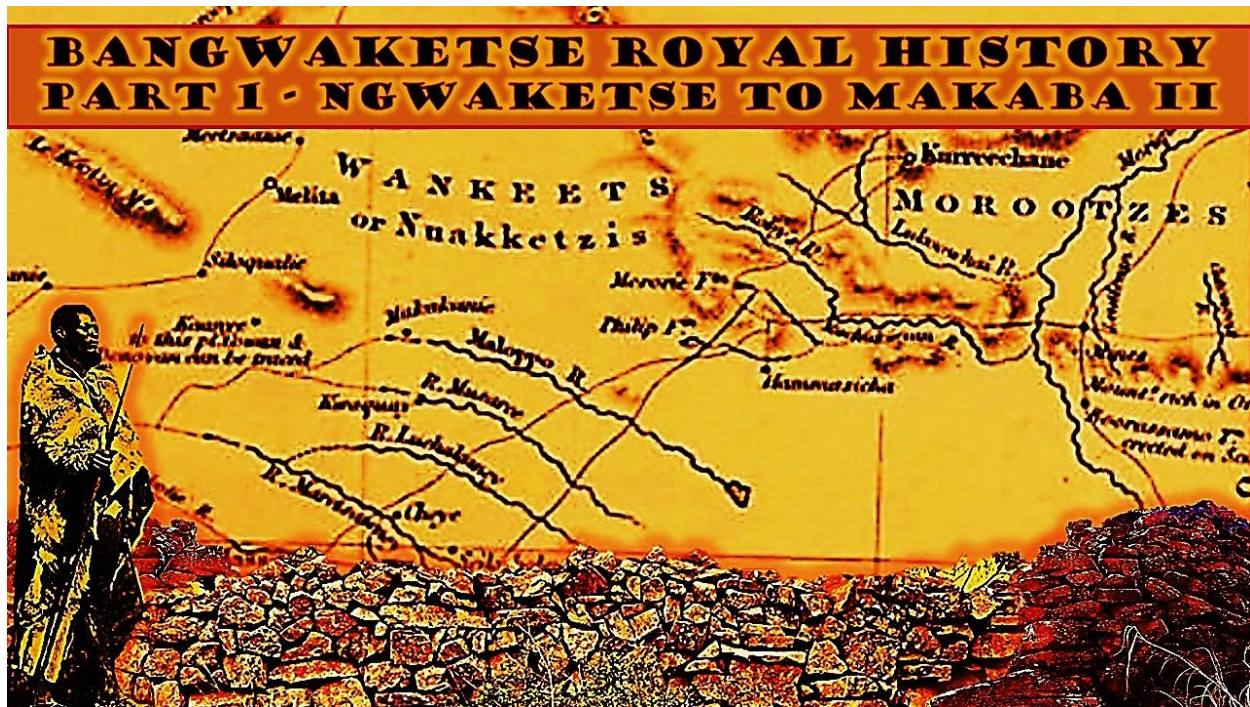




HISTORY OF THE BANGWAKETSE ROYAL HOUSE, PART 1: FROM NGWAKETSE TO MAKABA II

Introduction

The following document brings together articles on the history of the Bangwaketse royal dynasty that were first published as part of an August-November 2011 series in the *Sunday Standard* (Gaborone) newspaper. At the time this author had been invited by the newspaper's publishers, with the input of members of the royal house, to produce the series in anticipation of the October 2011 coronation of Malope II as Kgosi-e-Kgolo of Bangwaketse. A condensed version of the serial was incorporated in the official programme for the coronation - *A Royal Affair Peo Ya Ga Kgosi Malope II October 7 2011 Souvenir Book Programme*, a pdf. copy of which is available online @

[https://www.academia.edu/91920515/A ROYAL AFFAIR PEO YA GA KGOSI MALOPE II October 7 2011 SOUVENIR BOOK PROGRAMME](https://www.academia.edu/91920515/A_ROYAL_AFFAIR_PEO_YA_GA_KGOSI_MALOPE_II_October_7_2011_SOUVENIR_BOOK_PROGRAMME).

A fully annotated version of Part 2 of the series has been separately published online as "Kgosi Sebego the Hard-Hearted Crocodile" @

[https://www.academia.edu/95107479/KGOSI SEBEGO THE HARD HEARTED CROCODILE](https://www.academia.edu/95107479/KGOSI_SEBEGO_THE_HARD_HEARTED_CROCODILE) by JEFF RAMSAY 1

- Jeff Ramsay

Origins: Children of Matsieng

A few weeks from now multitudes are expected to gather at the royal kgotla in Kanye to celebrate Malope aSeepapitso IV's coronation as Kgosi-e-Kgolo of Bangwaketse. Given the House of Ngwaketse's past legacy and present status, the ceremony may ultimately prove to be more than a symbolic milestone in the regal affairs of one morafe. It is with such understanding that this first in a series of articles begins to explore the evolution of one of our country's most resilient dynasties. For generations the heirs of Ngwaketse have survived, often against the odds, to exert a lasting influence in the development not only of Botswana but also the surrounding region.

The autonomous history of the dynasty begins with the life of its namesake, Ngwaketse, who was a junior son of a Mokwena monarch named Malope. The line of descent from the original Malope to his current namesake is free of serious dispute. Kgosi Malope is the son of Seepapitso, who was the son of Bathoen of Seepapitso of Bathoen of Gaseitsiwe of Tshosa of Makaba of Moleta of Mongala of Makaba of Khutwane of Leema of Seepapitso, born of Ngwaketse of Malope.

Counting back the generations, the above genealogy suggests that Ngwaketse was probably born sometime in the late 16th century.

In many popular accounts Mohurutshe, Ngwato, and even Kwenya are also said to be sons of the earlier Malope. But comparative analysis of the existing genealogies for each of these merafe and other evidence calls into question the belief that the principal royal lines of the Bahurutshe and Bakwena, including Bangwato and Bangwaketse, all literally converged in a single generation of siblings. Ngwato may have predated Ngwaketse by at least two generations, despite their fraternal association in many accounts, while the division between the progenitors of Bahurutshe and Bakwena royal lineages almost certainly goes back much further.

There is a tendency in any culture for oral traditions to compress events and personalities over time. What the folk memory does preserve is an enduring appreciation of common roots. In this respect, what is not in dispute is that the ruling families of each of the above merafe, as well as those of the Bakgatla and Barolong, including such offshoots as the Bakaa, each claim to be the decedents of an ancient ruler named Masilo.

Beyond common kinship, the putative descendants of Masilo, along with neighbouring Bakgalagari groups such as the Bakgwatheng (alternatively

Bakgwatlheng), also share a deeper genesis mythology based on a common ancestor named Matsieng, who is said to have come into this world through Lowe's cave, which is adjacent to Rasesa.

Throughout Southern Africa, Sotho-Tswana traditions more generally agree that the first ancestors emerged from the ground through sacred caves. While several reputed "caves of life" exist throughout the region, those merafe tracing their descent from Matsieng are consistent in their focus on Goo-Lowe as their place of origin.

The cave is named after a one-sided medimo who may appear in the form of a single-legged giant. According to legend, Matsieng was once living without care in the underground realm of Tintibane, from where he was tempted by Lowe to follow the light to the surface world between the earth and sky.

Banished from returning to his former underworld comfort, Matsieng initially suffered from hunger. Tintibane then took pity on him, giving him wild animals to hunt and goats to domesticate, including the giraffe who guided Matsieng to the place of women.

Tintibane was venerated as a demigod protector by the descendants of Matsieng, including the Bangwaketse, who were united by their common origin oath:

"Ke a ikana ka Tintibane, a ngwana wa Mafatshe, ka thibe ka lefatshe ka lelemela sefonyana se se kwa go Moseki." ("I swear by Tintibane, the child of the Earth, sealed by the earth, I crept stealthily in a small flight at Moseke.")

The oath refers to the fact that besides being the lord of the lower world, to whom the dead were returned (thus the rite of burial) Tintibane was known as ***"Ngwana wa Modimo le Mafatshe"*** ("the child of the Supreme God and Earth").

People prayed for Tintibane's intervention through the mediums of Lowe and/or Thobega-a-Phatswa. The latter, identified in his youthful manifestation as Thibela, became immortal after marrying Tintibane's daughter Mmape. Thereafter, he assumed the status of Lowe's gatekeeper.

In paying homage to Tintibane, generations of Batswana and Bakgalagari have over the centuries affirmed their status as indigenous occupiers of the ground of Matsieng and Masilo. In this context, Lowe's cave existed a place of pre-Christian

pilgrimage. Early missionaries and other 19th-century European visitors spoke of its significance.

Coupled with modern archaeological evidence, which tends to show continuity in southern African settlement patterns across the centuries, the folklore surrounding legendary figures such as Matsieng runs counter to the debilitating counter-myth that black Africans, the so-called Bantu, are relatively recent arrivals in the region; a colonial era turned Bantu Education distortion that sadly survives to this day in the continued popular and classroom emphasis on “Bantu Migration”.

Early Royals: Ngwaketse to Mongala

Given the ancient prominence of Lowe’s Cave, the lands of south-eastern Botswana would not have been unknown to Ngwaketse when he broke away from the main body of the Bakwena BagaMagopa to establish his settlement at Magagarapa Hill. While some accounts state that his brother, the BagaMagopa paramount Kgosi Kgabo, was reluctant to allow Ngwaketse’s departure from the main body of the morafe then residing along the Crocodile River in modern South Africa, there is no suggestion of any resulting conflict.

Discussing the Bangwaketse breakaway from the Bakwena Isaac Schapera, in his 1937 “Short History of the Bangwaketse” cautioned that: “There are, however, several conflicting stories about the timing and circumstance of the split between the two tribes.” This remains true today.

In this context it may, nonetheless, be noted that surviving sources suggest that Kgabo aMalope was the grandfather of Kgabo aTebele, the latter being the founder of the Bakwena dynasty now based in Molepolole. Ngwaketse's settlement in Botswana may thus occurred earlier. While establishing his community’s autonomy, Ngwaketse is said to have continued to show allegiance to the BagaMagopa Kgosi-e-kolo. Such acknowledgment of at least ritual seniority was also true of the descendants of Kgabo aTebele.

Ngwaketse was succeeded by his son Seepapitso, who established his settlement at Khale. There they repulsed a Bakwena attempt to force their return to Magopa. Following this incident, the Bangwaketse re-settled a short distance further south and west along the Kolobeng River at Ntsotswane Hill. Seepapitso was succeeded by his son Leema, during which time they moved further south to Potsane.

Leema was in turn survived by two sons - Khutwe and his younger brother Khutwane. Due to Khutwe's alleged incapacity, Khutwane ultimately assumed leadership, during which time the morafe stayed at Sengoma, a hill just south of Ramotswa.

Khutwane's reign appears to have coincided with a major shift in the balance of power in the region brought about by the arrival of Kgosi Kgabo aTebele's Bakwena, who were accompanied by the Bangwato. In alliance with the Bakaa, then settled at Mmopane under their own Kgosi named Magogwe, Kgabo forcibly seized the strategic Dithajwane hills from the Bakgwatheng, who were then united under the rule of Kgosi Magane. From this strategic position, Kgabo gained control over the trade routes and riches of the central Kgalalgadi.

In the aftermath of the conquest, the Bakgwatheng morafe was permanently shattered. Some became subjects of the Bakwena, while others fled either westward into the sandveld or northward into today's Central District.

Still others led by a son of Magane named Tau found refuge with the Bangwaketse. A dynastic alliance was then forged with Tau's sister becoming the great wife of Khutwane's heir the first Makaba.

According to Bakwena sources, Khutwane accepted Kgabo's claim as Kgosi-e-golo, paying token tribute, while maintaining his separate settlement.

Following Khutwane's death, Bogosi jwa Bangwaketse was disputed between his son Makaba I and Khutwe's son Modutlwa. This led to a temporary split in the morafe with Makaba leading his followers to Seoke, whose stone ruins survive on the outskirts of Lobatse. This may have followed an attempt by Modutlwa to enlist the support of Kgabo's son Motshodi for his claims.

In the end, Modutlwa failed in his efforts. His descendants and those of his followers became reconciled with those of Makaba. Today they form the historic Modutlwa, Taukobong, Pudumo, and Ruele wards of Kanye.

Makaba I was succeeded by Mongala, who is credited with reasserting Bangwaketse independence from the Bakwena during the twilight years of the long reign of Kgabo's son Motshodi.



Fig. 1 Stone walling at Seoke, photo by Stefania Merlo @
<https://www.metsemegologolo.org.za/artxi/object/1230>

Mongala's rule is otherwise remembered for his tragic demise as a result of an outbreak of war with the Bakgatheng, who sought to reassert their independence under Tau's son Mabeleng and grandson Seeiso. Following an altercation between Seeiso and Mongala's son Moleta, Mabeleng led the Bakgatheng to a place known as Kgaloong-loo-Tau, near Segeng.

In pursuit, Mongala attacked Mabeleng's position. It is said that in his eagerness for action, if not misplaced pride, Mongala failed to bring sufficient force with him. At any rate, the Bangwaketse suffered defeat. Mongala was captured and speared to death.

MOLETA

When news of his father's execution reached Seoke, his son Moleta vowed to exact revenge. An era of sustained militarisation, which would transform the Bangwaketse into the most feared among Batswana warriors, was about to begin. The material nature of the ensuing conflict is suggested by the fact that, while the rebels' leader, Mabeleng, is remembered as a Shekalagari folk hero, he has become a virtual non-person in Sengwaketse accounts.

The war between the Bakgwatheng and Bangwaketse evolved into more than another of the countless dynastic skirmishes that have occurred among the putative descendants of Matsieng over the centuries. Alongside Kgabo aTebele's conquest of the Dithajwane hills, the conflict was a key event that defined the separate and unequal relationship that emerged between the Bakgalagari and Batswana merafe of southern Botswana more generally by the early 19th century.

As the Bangwaketse, often in an alliance of mutual convenience with the Bakwena багаKgabo, expanded their political control ever deeper into the Kgalagadi sandveld, the inhabitants of the region were reduced to servile status of batlhanka. It is at this point that one can speak of Gangwaketse as forming a distinct polity, though there are contemporary references of neighbouring groups referring to the lands of BagaNgwaketse and BagaKgabo collectively as “Bokwena”.

Returning to our narrative, Mongala's heir Moleta quickly set about avenging his father's death. In the process, he established himself as a Crassus figure to Mabeleng's Spartacus-like challenge to social order.

Through Moleta's determined leadership, the Bangwaketse mephato acquired a reputation for their collective discipline and battlefield cunning; qualities which were inculcated through constant mobilisation for hunting and raids, as well as the basic training of bogwera. The Kgosi's own Madingwana mophato was followed by the Maswana, Matshwarakgomo, Maletlathebe, Mankwe, Mathibaphata, Magwasa, Matshologo, Manoga, Matimakgabo and Magaga.

Moleta initially led his forces in a devastating counter-attack on the Bakgwatheng, who were scattered. Some fled south to the Barolong, while others moved westward to the Matsheng region, where they merged with other groups such as the Bangologa.

Mabeleng's son Seeiso was captured along with his surviving followers and taken back to Seoke. There Seeiso, himself, was allowed to form his own ward, which survives to this day in Kanye, while most of the rest of Bakgwatheng were distributed as batlhanka among various Bangwaketse lineages.

Expansion under Moleta also brought the Bangwaketse into conflict with their southern neighbours, the Barolong and Batlhaping, who competed for control of the Kgalagadi's trade routes and tribute.

Hearing that the Batlhaping in alliance with other southerners (Barwa) intended to attack, Moleta moved his headquarters from Seoke to Pitsa Hill, also adjacent to Lobatse. From there he successfully ambushed and drove off the invaders at a gorge ever since known as Phata-ya-Barwa.

The Bangwaketse next became embroiled in a conflict involving their eastern Bahurutshe neighbours, who were then ruled by a regent named Boikanyo. When Boikanyo refused to surrender the throne to his younger but more senior brother Tirwe, the latter turned to Moleta in support of his claims. Moleta's forces then clashed with the followers of Boikanyo at Powe, near Dinokana in Lehurutshe, resulting in Boikanyo's defeat and death.

Moleta next moved his headquarters westward from Pitsa to Makolotwane but subsequently withdrew from the area under pressure from the Bakwena Kgosi Motswasele I, who kept his cattle nearby at Gookodisa.

Moleta then resettled at a place known as Mhakane on the Molopo River, from where he could challenge the northward movement of the Barolong. His son Makaba was sent on an expedition against the Bangologo at Lehututu, whom he deprived of their cattle. The Bangologo in turn sought help from their traditional allies the Barolong, who were, however, expelled from the area with the help of the Bakwena.

Moleta next settled at Setlhabatsane, where he eventually died in about 1790.

MAKABA II

Moleta was succeeded by his son Kgosi Makaba II, who initially established himself at Sebatleng. Having already distinguished himself against the Bangologa, Makaba continued to build on his father's military legacy, earning for himself the praise name "Rramaomana". During his long reign, he fought against almost all of his neighbours, with his mephato usually prevailing.

Makaba II's reign began inauspiciously after his raids on Bakwena cattle posts touched off a sustained and mutually destructive conflict. Seeking to recoup their initial losses the Bakwena raided Bangwaketse cattle posts at Gapeana in the vicinity of Lobatse. But their coming had been anticipated, resulting in a bloody Bangwaketse victory.

Thereafter, Makaba's men fell upon and killed the by-then-aging Bakwena Kgosi Seithlamo, who was said to have been virtually alone at his homestead. According to at least one account, the Mokwena's assassins had been led to their target by a son of Seithlamo's named Mooketsi. After the incident Mooketsi went with the Bangwaketse back to Sebatleng, where Makaba had him executed, saying that since he had betrayed his father he could just as easily kill him as well.

Notwithstanding the above, the now enraged Bakwena, led by another son of Seithlamo named Maleke, attacked and destroyed Sebatleng in revenge for their loss. Makaba then resettled at the top of Kanye Hill, Ntsweng, which he fortified with extensive stone walls.

Makaba's sophisticated defences proved their worth when the Bangwaketse were attacked in 1798-99 by the Barolong boo-Ratlou whose ranks were reinforced by a party of gun-wielding Korana and Griqua (mixed race groups of Khoe origin known to Batswana as Makgothu or Masetedi) led by the infamous German fugitive Jan Bloem (Johannes Blum).

Having fled the Cape, where he is said to have murdered his first wife, Bloem joined the Katse Korana, among whom he assimilated to become a clan leader, as well as a notorious brigand. Bloem ultimately sired children with a dozen wives, resulting in numerous modern descendants; the city of Bloemfontein was originally named after the most prominent of his immediate offspring, the Griqua leader Jan Bloem II.

Along with another Cape fugitive named Coenraad De Buys, Bloem is the earliest European known to have ventured into Botswana. It was an unhappy encounter for all parties concerned.

Notwithstanding their lack of firepower, the Bangwaketse successfully resisted the invaders, whose motive was to relieve them of their cattle and in the case of Bloem's party, perhaps, also to capture slaves. Bloem, himself, perished in the campaign after drinking water from a well that had been poisoned by Makaba.

The arrival of Bloem and De Buys was a harbinger of troubled times to come. Further to the south, the peace in the region north of the Orange River, which then separated the Cape Colony from the Batlhaping and other southern merafe, was already being disrupted by the incursions of increasing numbers of Korana and Griqua, joined by European renegades. These groups often formed commandos of armed horsemen to prey upon the livestock of the southern Batswana and Basotho.

After the British in 1809 banned the importation of overseas slaves into the Cape Colony, many women and children were also captured by the intruders to meet the insatiable Boer demand for forced labour. As a missionary in 1829 noted:

"Amongst the Griquas and Bergenaars, who are in considerable connection with the Cape, slaves obtained by barter, or by capture from Bootchuanas and Bushmen, are a common article of saleable property."

While The Grahamstown Journal newspaper in 1834 reported that:

"Among the Basotho, cattle have now become scarce, and commandos do not now, as usual, go out in search of them so much as of children, whom they carry off in great number, and dispose of them to farmers, who readily give a horse or inferior gun for each."

In the context of these events, Makaba II's 1799 defeat of Bloem may be credited with keeping similar brigands out of Botswana for a generation. By the same token, the rising levels of violence in the south also provide a context for better understanding the increasing militarization of the Bangwaketse and their neighbours.

Makaba's next victory was against the Bakgatla bagaMmanaana, who were then living to the east at Maanwane under the rule of Kgosi Kalaota II. Having challenged the Bangwaketse, the Bakgatla were decisively defeated, losing all of their cattle. In return for their herds, BagaMmanaana accepted Makaba's overrule, eventually settling at Gamafikana. There Kalaota was succeeded by his son Kgosi Kontle II. The latter married Makaba's daughter Berekonyane, who bore him a son named Mosielele.

In alliance with the Barolong, Makaba resumed his raids on Bakwena, Bahurutshe, and Batlhaping. This resulted in a grand alliance against him, which included the combined might of the Bahurutshe, Balete, Bakgatla bagaKgafela, Bakwena, Batlhaping, and Batlaro, as well as some Korana.

In the face of this formidable challenge, Makaba retreated once more behind the stone walls of his Kanye stronghold. A final assault by his opponents was beaten off in a fierce battle at Mathabanelo on the eastern side of the hill. Thereafter, a degree of peace was established between the merafe of the region allowing

Makaba's realm a few years of unaccustomed peace, before it would be consumed by greater challenges.

Makaba and the Makgoa

In the aftermath of Kgosikgolo Makaba II's victory at Matlhabanelo, over combined might of the Bahurutshe, Balete, Bakgatla bagaKgafela, Bakwena bagaKgabo, Batlhaping, and Batlaro, relations between the Bangwaketse and their neighbours remained strained. This animosity is apparent in the accounts of early European visitors, as well as local traditions.

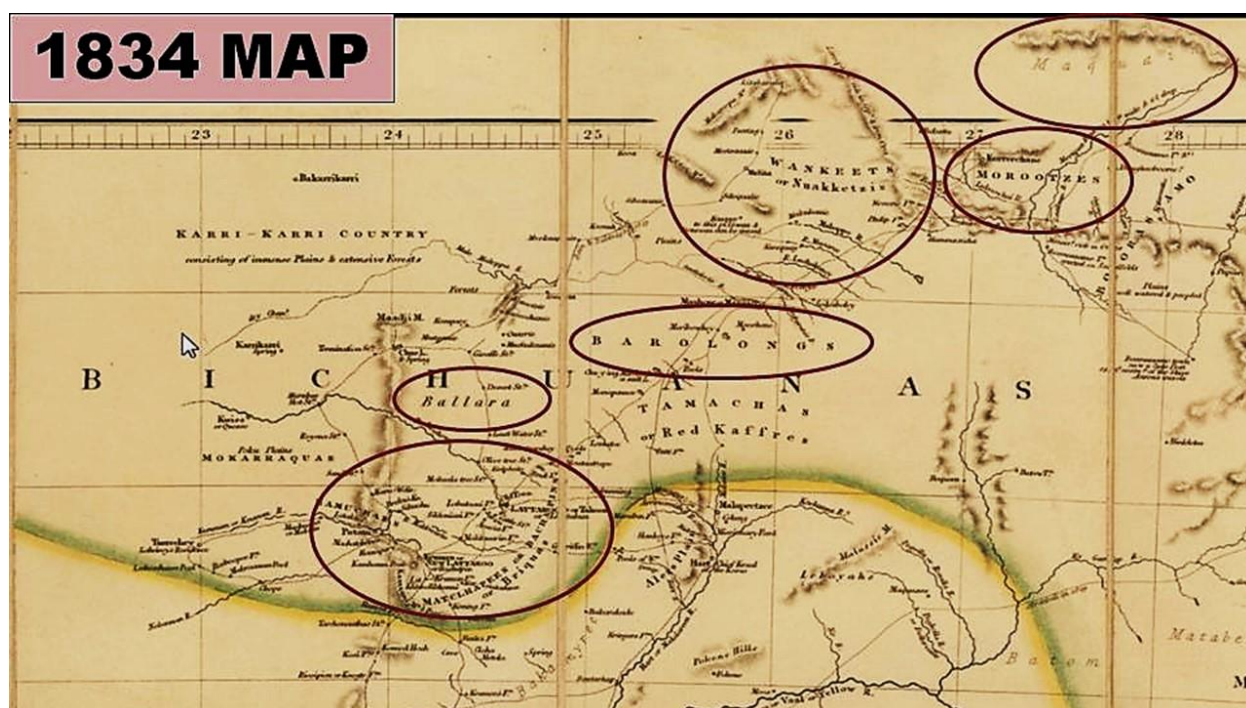


Fig. 2 From 1834 Arrowsmith map, based on earlier Herbert map, which incorporated geographic findings of Andrew Geddes Bain and other pioneer visitors to the region.

In 1808, just two years after assuming permanent control of the Cape Colony from the Dutch, the British sent an official expedition north of the Orange River to gain a better understanding of the region beyond the Batlhaping capital of Dithakong, of which they were already familiar. The expedition was led by a military officer, Lt. E.D. Donovan, who was accompanied by two other Europeans, Dr. Alexander Cowan and the Rev. Robert Anderson of the London Missionary Society (who also had trading interests), as well as their “Hottentot” (i.e. Cape Khoe) servants.

Passing through the lands of the Batlhaping and Barolong, the party arrived at Kanye, where it was warmly welcomed by Makaba II. At this point, the Rev. Anderson decided to turn back, while Donovan and Cowan, together with their servants, pressed on to the Bakwena capital of Shokwane, where they were greeted by Kgosi Motswasele II, who is locally remembered as having received a mirror and other gifts from the visitors.

The two then proceeded northward to the Limpopo, where they disappeared, their remains only being discovered decades later in the country of the Balaka, to the east of Martin's Drift, where they had possibly perished of fever.

Donovan and Cowan's fate is of more than passing interest to the story of Makaba II because his Batlhaping rivals, abetted by some Bangwaketse exiles, successfully spread the allegation that the pair had been murdered by the son of Moleta. This falsehood had the desired effect of discouraging other European travellers from passing through Gangwaketse, some taking circuitous routes to reach the Bahurutshe and other merafe to the east while avoiding the now-feared Makaba.

Makaba's bad reputation was possibly reinforced by the actual 1809 killing in his country of a renegade 'Boer' (maybe mixed race) cattle thief known as Frans Krieger.

A generation of Cape traders thus avoided what would later become the well-travelled road to the north through Kweneng and Gammangwato, as well as Gangwaketse. It has been suggested that this outcome was an early blessing in that it may have also dissuaded the 1830s Boer trekkers from using the route.

At the time, however, Makaba was frustrated. Like other dikgosi in the region, he wished to enter into direct trading contact with the Cape so that he could better access European industrial goods, of which the most desired and feared in equal measure were firearms. Through the tribute he collected from Kgalagadi communities, as well as the success of his communal hunts, the Kgosi Kgolo had a surplus of what the outside traders most sought - ivory and other game products.

But, except for the fugitive Coenraad De Buys, the Makgoa stayed away, notwithstanding Makaba's invitations, as well as additional efforts to encourage the Batlhaping Kgosi Mothibi to end his hostility. The English botanist William Burchell was at Dithakong in 1811 when a party of Bangwaketse arrived among Batlhaping with oxen intended as a present from Makaba to Mothibi. But such was

the Mothlaping's distrust that refused to accept them, fearing that they had been bewitched.

Makaba's concern over his isolation must have increased after 1816 when he once more became embroiled in armed conflicts with his neighbours. While he successfully raided the Bahurutshe and Balete, renewed hostilities with the Bakwena, under the militant leadership of Motswasele II, led to sustained losses on both sides.

Makaba's position was also complicated by his estrangement with heir Tshosa, who fled to the Barolong at Khunwana after failing in an attempt to usurp bogosi. In his flight Tshosa was accompanied by a large body of supporters, including his younger brother Segotshane; but he left behind his sons Gaseitsiwe and Ralekoko.

In 1822 Tshosa arrived at Dithakong to incite Mothibi against his father. But, the Motlhaping refused to get involved; while the then recently arrived Scottish missionary Robert Moffat scolded Tshosa for his failure to honour his father. Thereafter, Tshosa convinced some Barolong to join him in an initially successful raid on his father's cattle posts. Makaba sent out mephato in pursuit, who succeeded in surrounding and defeating Tshosa's raiders at Setlagole.

Various Sengwaketse and European accounts are in agreement that notwithstanding Tshosa's actions, Makaba wished that no harm should befall his prodigal son, instead ordering that he be captured and brought back alive. Tshosa was nonetheless killed, resulting in Makaba secluding himself for a period of mourning.

Mission to Kgwakgwe

Despite, or perhaps because of, the fact that the Batlhaping and others around him never spoke of Makaba "without stigmatizing him in the most opprobrious epithets" Robert Moffat resolved to take up the Kgosikgolo's invitation that he visit. At the time the missionary was convinced that the powerful Kgosi's goodwill was the key to bringing peace and the blessings of gospel to the region.

Moffat was turned back from an initial attempt to reach Gangwaketse in May 1823, when Dithakong was threatened by invading Baphuting and Bahlakwana, who were defeated by the Batlhaping with Griqua assistance.

street to the habitation of Makaba, who stood at the door of one of his houses and welcomed us to the town in the usual way.

“He seemed astonished and pleased to see us all without arms, remarking, with a hearty laugh, that he wondered we should trust ourselves, unarmed, in the town of such a ‘villain’ as he was reported to be. In a few minutes a multitude gathered, who actually trode on each other in their eagerness to see the strangers and their horses. Meanwhile, Makaba walked into a house, and sent us out a large jar, or pot of beer, with calabashes, in the form of a ladle. Being thirsty, we partook very heartily of the beer, which possessed but little of an intoxicating quality.”

Revelling in the moment, Makaba insisted that visitors parade their ox wagons through the town, to a spot where they could camp for the night. This they did to the reported excitement of the inhabitants, despite some damage to lolwapa walls along the route.

As the oxen were finally unyoked Moffat’s party *“were instantly surrounded by several thousands of people, all making their remarks on the novel scene, which produced a noise almost deafening; nor did they retire till night came on.”*

The Kgosikgolo continued to shower his guest with regal protocol, first sending Moroka with three senior men to guard and wait on the missionary, a gesture which was followed at “about sunset” with the arrival of one of Makaba’s wives with his message that:

"The only mark of respect which he could at present show was to send his most beloved wife, who would deliver to us a sack full of thick milk, and that tomorrow he would provide us with slaughter oxen. The sack was so large that it was borne by two men to the wagons."

Early the next morning, Moffat’s party woke to find themselves once more surrounded by a large crowd. Moffat further records:

“At about ten o'clock A. M., Makaba made his appearance, with his retinue, and sat down opposite to my wagon. The bustling crowd retired to a distance, and a dead silence ensued. He addressed us nearly as follows: -

"My friends, I am perfectly happy; my heart is whiter than milk because you have visited me. Today I am a great man. Men will now say, 'Makaba is in league with white people.' I know that all men speak evil of me. They seek my hurt. It is because

they cannot conquer me that I am hated. If they do me evil, I can reward them twofold. They are like children who quarrel; what the weaker cannot do by strength, he supplies with evil names. You have come to see the villain Makaba; you have come, as the Batlhaping say, 'to die by my hands.' You are wise and bold to come and see with your eyes, and laugh at the testimony of my enemies."

While Moffat's detailed recollections in his diary of his August 1824 visit to Kgwakgwe, should be understood as reflecting his perceptions and bias, they, nonetheless, provide us with a plausible and uniquely insightful narrative of a week in the life of Kgosi Makaba II and his community.

As previously noted, from the moment of their arrival Moffat's party received a regal welcome. This was in keeping with the Kgosi Kgolo's candid desire that the visit should open the door to others who had previously avoided his country, based on the disinformation of hostile neighbours and exiled internal opponents.

In this respect what is often ignored is that Moffat was accompanied by a sizable party of Berganaar Griqua, led by their Kaptyn (clan leader/chief) Barend Barends, who had come on his own diplomatic initiative to overcome the legacy of mistrust between his followers, by then already allies of the Batlhaping, and the Bangwaketse.

As a by-then important middleman in the trans-Gariep or Orange River trade in game products to the Cape Colony, Barends, like Makaba, had a material interest in establishing direct trade links with Gangwaketse. As with the Scottish missionary, the Griqua Kaptyn had thus shown a steadfast desire to reach the Bangwaketse Kgosi Kgolo, despite vigorous efforts on the part of the Barolong, as well as Batlhaping, to discourage him from proceeding:

"[Barolong Kgosi] Tawana was extremely reluctant that we should proceed to the Bangwaketse. He had introduced to me one of Makaba's wives, who had fled with her two sons [i.e. Tshosa, Segotshane], one of whom was afterward, like Absalom, slain by the warriors of his father for treason. The mother of this enterprising character was a fine-looking, matronly woman. After having satisfied myself about the propriety of proceeding, I resolved to leave with my small party, expecting that the [Griqua] hunters would take another course, as they had their fears, that what everybody said about Makaba must be true. However, all in-yoked their oxen at the same time, and the cavalcade began to move towards the Bangwaketse country."

Makaba immediately welcomed Barends' desire to barter for ivory and other game products, which he possessed in abundance through the collection of tribute and his periodic organization of communal hunts or letsholo. In keeping with protocol, he announced he would convene a trading parley with the Griqua. From Moffat's account:

"I made him [Makaba] a present of beads and buttons, with a number of other trinkets; and also gave him a hat. One of the Griqua directed him to put it on his head, which he did, but immediately removed it to the head of another, saying that he could not see its beauty on his own. As most of the Griqua had come to barter, he informed them that on Friday they should come."

At the time and, indeed for many decades thereafter, the processing and sewing of wild animal skins into karosses was a principal domestic industry among the Bangwaketse and their Bakwena neighbours; its ultimate decline being a result of 1930s colonial regime measures that undermined local production to promote labour migration. Makaba's early morning routine was described as being generally spent overseeing kaross production, as well as the tanning of hides, before proceeding to kgotla.



Fig. 4 Bakwena men sewing karosses at Kgosing in 1865, photo by Gustav Fritsch

In addition to his strategic calculations in terms of trade and reconciling with neighbouring merafe against emerging threats, Makaba had a personal motive for

his warm welcome of Moffat, whom he addressed as “Tsala-ya-moeng”. As the missionary would eventually come to know, the Kgosikgolo had all along shadowed his rebellious heir Tshosa with spies, who had thus been able to inform him of the missionary’s earlier warning to the prodigal son to desist from his plots and lies against his father and king (the word Moffat himself used).

According to Moffat, on his second day at Kgwakgwe he, along with Barends and company, sat down to have the first of several public conversations with Makaba. Initial greetings were followed by a long discussion about the "Mantatee" invasion. At the time, "Mantatee" was commonly used by Makgoa as a collective term to describe the disruptive influx of groups such as the Baphuting, Bahlakwana, and Bafokeng, who had recently threatened Moffat's mission station at Kuruman/Kudumane along with the adjacent Batlhaping at Dithakong.

By the time of the visit, Bafokeng bagaPatsa and Bataung had merged to form a group then known to the Bangwaketse as “Makgare”, who would subsequently be better remembered as the “Makololo.” Moffat understood this amalgamation as constituting a new and more formidable “Mantatee” threat. Here it may be noted that while it is possible that the term “Mantatee”, as it was then used by Europeans, had its origin in the fierce reputation of the Motlokwa queen MmaNtatisi, her mephato did not number among the Makgoa's so-called Mantatees.

What the Makololo and similar groups at the time had in common was their flight from their abodes in the region immediately north of the Gariep in the face of constant raiding by gun-wielding brigands of various origins. As the Makololo leader, Sebetwane is credited with having told his followers before they migrated to Bokone, the northern lands of Masilo aMatsieng:

"My masters, you see that the world is collapsing. We shall be eaten up one by one. Our fathers taught us peace means prosperity, but today there is no peace, no prosperity! Let us march!"

The previous year the Bangwaketse had turned back an initial raid by the Makololo, fortifying the monarch’s confidence in his continued ability to triumph. Pointing to his hilltop defences he boasted to Barends and Moffat:

“There lie the bleached bones of the enemy who came upon our hills like the locusts, but who melted before us by the shaking of the spear” to which he reportedly added, *"with a stentorian voice, and with superlative self-complacency - Who is to be compared to Makaba, the son of Moleta, the man of conquest?"*

At this point, the silent multitude of several thousand Bangwaketse who had been listening to their Kgosikgolo are said to have burst into deafening applause.

In his interactions, Moffat confirmed to Makaba his eagerness to establish a London Missionary Society (LMS) presence in Gangwaketse, exceeding his actual authority by pledging that a missionary would be able to soon take up residence. The Kgosikgolo responded that in the future he hoped that: *“no grass would be allowed to grow on the road between the Kuruman and Kgwakgwe.”*

But he warned that his Motlhaping rival, Mothibi, would undoubtedly try to hinder the missionary’s coming.

On the morning of the third day of the visit, Moffat's party received an additional three oxen for slaughter, which they feasted upon with boiled maize, bogobe, and bojalwa, also compliments of their host. Of Kgwakgwe, the missionary further reports that:

“I visited the town, which is very large, but was not able to judge of the number of inhabitants: the town itself covered a vast extent so that the population must have been great compared with that of the towns of South Africa generally”

Moffat later climbed one of the hills from which he was able to count fourteen “considerable villages” the farthest being about four kilometres in the distance, while he was informed that there were still more towns that were not visible. Based on such observations, he subsequently estimated Makaba’s followers to number not less than 70,000.

Moffat also admired the precise construction and cleanliness of the households he saw:

“Their premises and houses were on a plan rather different from what I had before seen. The houses, though not larger than those of the Batlhaping, were built with rather more regard to taste and comfort. The accuracy with which circles were formed, and perpendiculars raised, though guided only by the eye, was surprising. Their outer yards and house floors were very clean and smooth as paper. No dairy maid in England could keep her wooden bowl cleaner and whiter than theirs were. In this respect, they formed a perfect contrast to the Batlhaping.”

According to Moffat, Makaba shared his disdain for Batlhaping culinary hygiene, and asked the missionary whether they *“ever washed a wooden bowl, or if ever they presented me with food which did not contain the mangled bodies of flies, in a dish which had had no better cleaning than the tongue of a dog.”*

Of the compound at Kgosing, the missionary further observed:

“The front cattle-fold, or place where public meetings are held, was a circle of 170 feet diameter, formed with round posts eight feet high, and as close to each other as they could stand, each post having been hewn round with the axe. Behind lay the proper cattle fold, capable of holding many thousand oxen, there were also large sheep-folds.”

“Each of Makaba's wives, who were numerous, had a separate establishment, consisting of three or four houses, a corn-house, and a general storehouse. They had also a number of round jars for corn, from eight to twelve feet in diameter, and nearly the same in height, which are raised from the ground upon a circle of stones.”

The Dead Must Not Arise!

While neither Barends nor Moffat acted under the authority of the British administration at Cape Town, their mission can also be understood as an early harbinger of imperialism. Moffat was a member of the London Missionary Society (LMS) whose later representatives would play a significant role in reconciling Batswana to the 1885 imposition of colonial overrule.

Barends' Griqua were, like the Batswana, destined to number among imperialism's victims rather than agents. Their early interface with the imperial order is, however, reflected in Barend's title of "Kaptyn", which was the product of an 1813 initiative by the Cape Colony Governor to formally recognize him, along with his cousin Adam Kok II, as principal Griqua leaders north of the Colony's Gariep River boundary, in the process bestowing on them the honorary militia ranks of captain.

Beyond its underlying material circumstance, Moffat's arrival was also a spiritually significant milestone. Notwithstanding the previous 1808 visit of the Rev. Anderson, it was Moffat who truly opened the door to the Christian gospel in Botswana. This is not to say that the Bangwaketse were entirely receptive to his teaching.

In his early exchanges, Moffat was naturally delighted that Makaba welcomed the prospect of LMS missionaries taking up residence among both his people and also his neighbours. Excited by this concession, the missionary began to preach to the Kgosi Kgolo and his subjects, but with little apparent success. His account suggests increasing levels of bafflement on the part of his hosts as he earnestly attempted to interest them in *“something striking in the works of God, or in the life of the Saviour.”*

On the first Sunday of his visit, the Reverend felt particularly anxious to impress upon the Bangwaketse his good news. He therefore proceeded to Kgosing where he found Makaba seated amidst *“a large number of his principal men, all engaged either in preparing skins, cutting them, sewing mantles, or telling news.”* Moffat continues:

“Sitting down beside this great man, illustrious for war and conquest, and amidst nobles and counsellors, including rainmakers and others of the same order, I stated to him that my object was to tell him my news. His countenance lighted up, hoping to hear of feats of war, destruction of tribes, and such like subjects...When he found that my topics had solely a reference to the Great Being of whom, the day before, he had told me he knew nothing, and of the Saviour's mission to this world, whose name he had never heard, he resumed his knife and jackal's skin, and hummed a native air.”

The Kgosi's disinterest in the Reverend's preaching reportedly changed when the latter began to talk about Christ's miracles. One of the listeners is said to have exclaimed - *“What an excellent doctor he must have been, to make dead men live!”*

Seeing his opening the missionary then spoke of how the Saviour Jesus would ultimately return on the Day of Judgment to raise all the dead. At this point Makaba is said to have taken an agitated interest in Moffat's storytelling, resulting in the following exchange:

Makaba - *“What!” what are these words about the dead, the dead arise?”*

Moffat - *“Yes, all the dead shall arise.”*

Makaba - *“Will my father arise?”*

Moffat – *“Yes, your father will arise.”*

Makaba - *"Will all the slain in battle arise? I have slain my thousands and shall they arise?"*

Moffat- *"Yes"*

Makaba- *"And will all that have been killed and devoured by lions, leopards, hyenas, and crocodiles, again revive?"*

Moffat - *"Yes; and come to judgment."*

Makaba- *"And will those whose bodies have been left to waste and to wither on the Kgalagadi plains, and scattered to the winds, again arise?"*

Moffat - *"Yes, not one will be left behind."*

Makaba (now addressing the Kgotla) - *"You wise men, whoever among you is the wisest of past generations, did your ears ever hear such strange and unheard-of news? [turning to an unidentified elder] Have you ever heard such strange news as these?"*

Elder- *"No, I had supposed that I possessed all the knowledge of the country, for I have heard the tales of many generations. Although I am in the place of the ancients, my knowledge is confounded with the words of his mouth. Surely, he must have lived long before the period when we were born."*

Another elder- *"I have killed many, but I never saw the immortal part which you describe."*

Moffat - *"Because it is invisible"*

Makaba - *"What do my ears hear today? I am old, but I never thought of these things before [turning Moffat] Father, I love you much. Your visit and your presence have made my heart white as milk. The words of your mouth can be as sweet as honey, but the words of a resurrection are too great to be heard. I do not wish to hear again about the dead rising! The dead cannot rise! The dead must not arise!"*

Subsequently, Makaba and his advisors are said to have shown more interest when the *moruti* attempted to explain to them the use of writing and books.

Throughout the remainder of the visit, Makaba II maintained a demeanor of martial self-confidence, stating that he dreaded the displeasure of none of his neighbours, all of whom he had repeatedly defeated, fearing only the firearms of the Makgoa.

At one point he insisted that Moffat put on a public display of his marksmanship. The missionary obliged by hitting targets with the near-simultaneous discharge of two flint-lock pistols, while riding on horseback; a feat requiring considerable skill. According to Moffat:

“As soon as I alighted from the horse, Makaba began to unbutton my jacket to see the “little rogues,” as he called them, exclaiming; ‘What a blessing that you white men seek to be friends with all nations, for who is there that could withstand you?’ Laying his hand on my shoulder, he added; ‘I do, indeed, see that you were without fear, or you would have had your pistols this morning.’”

Although there is no record of the transaction, the acquisition of guns is likely to have been a key factor in Makaba giving his permission for a Griqua party under Barends’ two lieutenants, Hendricks Hendricks and Jan Karse, to remain in the country to hunt elephant.

Lion in Winter – Makaba’s Fall

Makaba's determination to acquire firearms was made more urgent by the growing instability in the region. To the east the great Bahurutshe metropolis of Kaditshwene, which Moffat's colleague the Rev. John Campbell had visited and extensively reported on in August 1821 had been entirely abandoned by April 1823, coinciding with the appearance of the Makololo in the region.

To the north, the Bakwena kingdom was tottering. According to Moffat, Makaba had been in conflict with the Bakwena, who were described as a “very populous nation” to the East as well as North East, possibly reflecting their continuing ties with Bakwena bagaMagopa. Both Sekwena and Sengwaketse traditions confirm that upon assuming his throne, shortly before the 1808 arrival of Lt. Donovan's expedition, the impetuous Bakwena Kgosi Motswasele II had renewed hostilities with the Bangwaketse.

But, by the time of Moffat’s presence among the Bangwaketse, the Bakwena were becoming divided in the wake of Motswasele’s execution during a letsholo or communal hunt, the vital act in a royal coup d’état led by his cousin Moruakgomo

and younger brother Segokotlo. The two conspirators wasted little time thereafter in struggling over the throne of Motswasele's underage heir Sechele.

Before the execution, the head of the Maunatlala ward, Sejo Monametse warned Motswasele that his brothers plotted his bloody downfall to which the Kgosikgolo replied: *"Let them kill me, my father's ants will come to avenge me."* At the *letsholo*, the Mokwena, at least according to legend, said to have further elaborated that the lands of his ancestor Malope would be overwhelmed by hordes of "black ants" who in due course would give way to an even more devastating infestation of "white" or "red ants".

Soon thereafter the prophecy was seemingly fulfilled when the first wave of black ants invaded Kweneng in the form of the Makololo, who occupied the strategic hill of Dithubaruba while demanding tribute from the weakened Bakwena. Makaba, who by then was hosting a growing number of Bakwena refugees, would have been well-informed about these events.

Motswasele's purported last words have since been more generally interpreted as a foretelling of the coming into Botswana of the Amandebele as well as Makololo, the so-called black ants, followed by the Boer trekkers and finally British imperialists, the red/white ants. The decades of dislocations and tumult brought about by the arrival of each of these outside groups would impact the lives of every community in Botswana.

The Rev. Robert Moffat left Kgwakgwe in 1824 fully convinced that, through his newfound relationship with Kgosi Makaba II, he had opened the door to the Gospel not only among the Bangwaketse but also the other northern Batswana. For all of his professed commitment to a life of humble service, one can detect a degree of pride in his account of how he had boldly gone where his brethren had previously feared to tread.

In the missionary's optimistic vision, the Kgosikgolo, even if still a 'heathen' was destined to become a divine instrument of God's will. But in the end, Moffat's ambition of establishing a network of London Missionary Society (LMS) stations radiating from Gangwaketse would have to be deferred for another generation.

In his enthusiasm, Moffat was seemingly blind to the coming cataclysm. During his return journey, he did witness further evidence of the destructive progress of refugee-turned-brigand bands from the south and east.

As it was, Makaba's realm was already in the eye of a hurricane, its peace and prosperity contrasting to the upheaval taking place all along its borders. Upon crossing the Molopo, Barends, and Moffat found that the Barolong boo-Ratlou, Seleka, and Tshidi had all fled from their separate abodes, coming together for their common defence at Khunwana. They also came across Bahurutshe refugees, who spoke of the destruction in their country.

At Kgwakgwe, Makaba's regal bearing betrayed little self-doubt about his continued ability to act as a regional powerbroker, while facing the emerging external challenge.

It is said that up until the end, the Great Crocodile maintained a strong physique, with only his occasionally weary continence and greying hair betraying the passage of time. A man of relentless energy, to the end he was renowned even by members of other merafe for what was then considered to be his eccentric habit of remaining physically active in the midday sun when others customarily rested.

Contemporary accounts by Batswana illustrate that in the final years of his three-and-a-half-decade reign, Kgosi Kgolo had become a larger-than-life figure. His self-confidence was exceeded by the awe he inspired among his followers and opponents. Whereas Moffat reported that Makaba feared only the Makgoa's firearms, many Batswana were convinced that his magic was unconquerable.

The Kgosi Kgolo's aura of invincibility comes across clearly in the 1821 reflections of a prominent kgosana among the Barolong boo-Ratshidi named Mokgwetsi, who had previously lived under Makaba. The period of the Morolong's residence with the Bangwaketse coincides with a power struggle among the Boo-Ratshidi over bogosi between Tawana and his uncle, the then regent, Leshomo.

With Leshomo initially enjoying a greater degree of support, in 1814 Tawana's followers fled to Makaba's protection. The Bangwaketse mephato were thereafter mobilized to assist Tawana's faction, resulting in Leshomo's expulsion and subsequent death among the Bahurutshe.

According to Mokgwetsi, though his life's journey had taken him to visit many merafe, he had never known a kgosi who was the equal of Makaba, adding:

"Makaba employs such powerful magic, that should he invite a neighbouring king to visit him, and that king neglects to come, he will only visit him, and he is sure to

die shortly afterward. By a visit of this kind, he killed the king of the Bahurutse. [further observing]

“Makaba would be unconquerable if all the nations were united against him, and although assisted by people with guns, for by his magic he could prevent the guns from going off, and defeat all their attempts.”

Concerning the latter claim, Mokgwetsi would have at least been aware of, if not a participant in, Makaba's decisive defeat of the 1798-99 invasion of Gangwaketse by Jan Bloem's Korana, along with Barolong boo-Ratlou.

Further testimonies of Makaba's power speak of his ability to summon elephants by whistling and immobilize rhinos with herbs. His mephato were said to go out on raiding expeditions with every moon, while his spies kept a sharp eye on the affairs of all of his neighbours. As we have seen the latter claim is at least supported by Makaba's knowledge of Moffat's advice to his estranged son Tshosa when the latter arrived among the Batlhaping at Dithakong.

In the final months of 1824 Makaba's intelligence would have brought him increasingly disturbing reports from Kweneng. In the aftermath of Motswasele II's execution, the Bakwena had become divided between the followers of Moruakgomo and those of Segokotlo, which was not resolved by the latter's defeat in a battle at Masipiana. Segokotlo, along with his surviving followers including Motswasele's underage heir Sechele, instead fled to Kgosi Kgari's Bangwato.

Moruakgomo initially settled at Borithe on the Ngotwane River, where he had little time to enjoy his victory. By 1824, the Mokwena usurper had relocated to Molepolole, following the arrival of Sebetwane's Makololo in the region. Thereafter, he tried to buy peace with the intruders through offers of tribute.

Meanwhile, there were also small signs of dissension among the Bangwaketse. A headman named Mogongwa had been punished after it was discovered that he had paid tribute to Makaba's son Sebege, rather than to the Kgosi himself.

In the aftermath of his late heir Tshosa and the still exiled son Segotshane's rebellion, the aging Makaba would undoubtedly have been sensitive to the ambitions of the charismatic Sebege, who was the senior son of his second house. Sebege's potential path to bogosi was then blocked by the Tshosa's underage heirs Gaseitsiwe and Ralekoko, as well as the still-absent Segotshane. But, only Makaba stood between him and the defacto power of regency.

Following his punishment, Mogongwa is said to have been removed to Molepolole, only to find the Bakwena living under the shadow of the Makololo. By some accounts he then approached Sebetwane, suggesting out of spite that the elder Makaba was rich and vulnerable.

What is more certain is that Moruakgomo's emissaries approached Makaba suggesting that they combine their forces against Sebetwane. The Bangwaketse Kgosikgolo agreed setting off with his mephato to rendezvous with the Bakwena against the advancing Makololo at Losabanyana.

Leading Bangwaketse are said to have advised Makaba to remain behind at Kgwakgwe, arguing that he was too old for battle and also that Moruakgomo was not to be trusted. Their fears proved to be well-founded.

The battle commenced with the Bangwaketse initially pushing the Makololo back, wounding Sebetwane in the process. But, the Bakwena remained aloof from the fighting allowing the battle to turn in the Makololo's favour.

Less certain, but also alleged is that Sebege's Malau regiment, along with the Maabakgomo of the absent Segotshane and what was left of the late Tshosa's Matshelaphala, failed to come to the aid of Makaba when his own Matshologawere were threatened by the Makololo counter-attack.

In the end, the Bangwaketse are said to have suffered heavy losses, with Makaba controversially numbering among the slain. Whether the Kgosikgolo was killed by the enemy or, either by chance or design, trampled to death by his own troops we can never know.

The great warrior king's death gave rise to many conspiracy theories in the oral traditions of the Bangwaketse and their neighbours. Some of these accounts may have been fuelled by subsequent political conflicts, rather than actual events. For others, perhaps only an act of supreme betrayal could explain the downfall of the otherwise invincible son of Moleta.

Notwithstanding the death of the Kgosikgolo, the outcome of Losabanyana was not one-sided. The engagement ended with both Sebege and the wounded Sebetwane breaking off the engagement to regroup their exhausted armies.

In the battle's immediate aftermath, there was no opposition among the Bangwaketse as Sebego assumed the regency on behalf of his nephew Gaseitsiwe aTshosa while vowing to revenge his father's death. His revenge would be thorough, with the son of Makaba conceiving a brilliantly executed military campaign that would mark one of the decisive turning points in Botswana's history.

Below are a few verses from a praise poem, *leboko*, about Kgosikgolo Makaba II as recorded by Kgosikobo Chelenyane at the Kanye kgotla in 1938 and subsequently published by Isaac Schapera:

*"Makaba onakaladi ya Makapana; nakaladi ya Mosana kgethisa.
Kepalame Tlowe, kebalametsana, kareseo-se gasemetse waga Rramaomana
aMokube.*

*"Kgomo diletsemolapotsaoswetsa, tsaga Lotlhaka-lomodumo;
kejele lemakaletse, Letshologa looKabangwe a Moleta;
sekalabata tsamosita dikgomotsayaMolemane, tsabatsamoleta Letshologa
looKabangwe a Moleta.*

"Lemang kapelelotloge lotshabe, letsemalemokuke waba atla."

*"Makaba, you are the fortifier of Makapana, the fortifier of Moshaneng, levying
tribute.*

*"I climbed Tlowe Hill and counted the villages; I said they are not town, merely
hamlets, the only town left is that of the Threatener at Mokube Hill [i.e. Makaba].*

*"The cattle entered the valley and exhausted it, the cattle of the 'reeds that
resounds" [i.e. Makaba's warriors].*

*"I ate while he wandered, the Letshologo, Kabangwe Moleta [reference to
Makaba's regiment]; the eluded the stalwart one and went to Molemane, they
waited for him, the Letshologo, Kabangwe Moleta.*

"Plough quickly, and then flee, he who ploughs slowly smoulders."

Following Makaba II's death at Losabanyana, his son Sebego assumed leadership of the Bangwaketse, successfully keeping the morafe together to fight another day.

Sebego, who was the son of Matshadi one of Makaba's junior wives, assumed the regency on behalf of his nephew, Gaseitsiwe aTshosa, in the context of the continued exile among the Barolong of the late Tshosa's maternal brother Segotshane. Embedded in this dynastic circumstance were the seeds of future controversy.

Sebego's initial acts as Motshwareledi-Kgosi were, however, well accepted, indeed heroic. Having vowed to avenge the death of his father in August 1826 he attacked Sebetwane's Makgare or Makololo at Dithubaruba, resulting in their permanent expulsion from southern Botswana.

Sebego's triumph over Sebetwane was but the first of many victories that would establish him as the most formidable Batswana warlord of his era. He would go on to annihilate Mzilikazi's Matebele at Dultwe and push the "Matlhamma", that is the Ovaherero, out of Ghanzi, while terrorising the Bakgalagari communities of south-western Botswana. He was an at times brutal leader who led the Bangwaketse through a brutal period.

End of Part 1

The story of "Kgosi Sebego the Hard-Hearted Crocodile" continues @
https://www.academia.edu/95107479/KGOSI_SEBEGO_THE_HARD_HEARTED_CROCODILE_by_JEFF_RAMSAY_1

ANNEX 1: LIST OF BANGWAKETSE RULERS, DIKGOSI, AND AGE REGIMENTS, MEPHATO:

Early History: The namesake founder of the Bangwaketse royal lineage, Ngwaketse, was succeeded by his son Seepapitso who begat Leema who begat Khuto and Khutwane. Khutwane begat the first Makaba, who begat Mongala, who begat Moleta who begat Makaba II, the grandfather of Gaseitsiwe who begat Bathoen who begat Seepapitso (II/III) who begat Bathoen II who begat Seepapitso IV who begat Malope II. The following listing of known regiments dating from the time of Kgosi Mongala

RULER/KGOSI – REGIMENT/MOPHATO – REGIMENTAL LEADER/MOETEDIPELE:

KGOSI MONGALA aMAKABA I

Madingwana (??) – Moleta aMongala

KGOSI MOLETA aMONGALA (c.1770-90)

Maswana (??) –??

Mashwere/Mashwarakgomo (?? – Modukanelo aMommanyane

Mautlathebe (??) -??

Mankwe (??) -??

Magwasa/Mathibaphata (??) – Selohilwe aMongala

Matshologa (??) – Makaba II aMoleta

Manoga (??) – Ikaneng aMoleta

Matimakgabo (??) -??

Magaga (??) – Pheko aMoleta le Thipa aMoleta

KGOSI MAKABA II aMOLETA (c.1790-1824)

Mathubapula (c.1805) – Mosime aMoleta

Magalatladi (c.1810) – Moloko aMoleta

Matshelaphala (c.1815) – Tshosa aMakaba II aMoleta

Malau (c.1829) – Sebebo aMakaba II aMoleta

Maabakgomo (1824) – Segotshane aMakaba aMoleta

KGOSI SEBEGO aMAKABA II (1825-45) KGOSI SETHUFE aSEBEGO (1845-57) & KGOSI SEGOTSHANE aMAKABA II (c.1835-45) (Rival Batshwareledi)

Mayakantwa (c.1832) – Mathibe aMakaba II aMoleta (Circumcised during time of war, i.e. Amandebele threat)

Matloladibe (1836) – Gaseitsiwe aTshosa aMakaba II (“escape evil things”, reference to attempt to poison Gaseitsiwe and his subsequent flight from Sebego)

Magatakgomo (1845) – Kgama aMakaba II aMoleta

KGOSI GASEITSIWE aTSHOSA (1845-89) (NB. followers of Senthufe aSebego only fully reconciled in 1859)

Mayakathebe (1848) – Modietsho aMakaba II aMoleta (continuing division of morafe between followers of Senthufe and Segotshane)

Malokwana (1852) – Sekgetlhanye Bome Makaba II le Senthufe aSebego

Malwelakgomo (1855) – Mogabi aMatlhophla aMoleta

Malosankwe (1859) – Kwelagobe aBome aMakaba II (killed leopard)

Maisantwa (1864) – Bathoen aGaseitsiwe aTshosa aMakaba II (possibly refers to threatened renewal of war with Boers)

Matlotlakgang (c.1875) – Keemenao aSenthufe aSebego aMakaba II

Mayakathata (1882) – Mokgadi aSekgatlhanye aBome aMakaba II (undergo difficulties, may refer to unsuccessful attack on Balete)

Mayakapula (1887) – Ratlhaodi a kwelagobe aBome aMakaba II (go during rain)

KGOSI BATHOEN GASIETSIWE (1889-1910)

Matshelaphala (1896) – Tshosa aKeemenao aSenthufe aSebego

Malau (1901) – Seepapitso (III) aBathoen aGaseitsiwe

Malwelanaga (1909) – Moyapitso aBathoen aGaseitsiwe (boundary dispute with Bakwena?)

KGOSI SEEPAPITSO III aBATHOEN (1910-16))

Malwelakgosi (1915) – Laolang aMakaba aSegotshane aMakaba (II) (Bangwaketse surrounded Boer rebels of Peinaar during WWI)

KGOSI KGOSIMOTSE aGASEITSIWE (regent 1916-18)

KGOSI MALOPE AMAKABA aSEGOTSHANE (regent 1918-19)

KGOSI TSHOSA aKEEMENAO aSENTHUFE aSEBEGO (regent 1919-23)

Matloladibe (1922) – Gaseitsiwe aTshoso aKeemenao aSenthufe

MOHUMAGADI GAGOANGWE aSECHELE (widow of Bathoen, regent 1923-24)

MOHUMAGADI NTEBOGANG RATSHOSA aBATHOEN (female regent 1924-28)

Maisantwa (1928) – Bathoen II aSeepapitso III

KGOSI BATHOEN II aSEEPAPITSO III aBATHOEN aGASEITSIWE (1928-68)

Matsayakgang (1934) – Mookami aSeepapitso III aBathoen (reference to troubles with Bakgatla bagaMmanaana of Gobuamang)

Maletamotse (1940) – Kebalepile aKebapetse aTelekelo aMakgaba

Maganamokgwa (1947) – Rampootu aRatlhaodi aKwelagobe aBome aMakgaba

KGOSI SEEPAPITSO IV aBATHOEN II (1969 -2010)

KGOSI MALOPE II aSEEPAPITSO IV aBATHOEN II (2010-)

ANNEX 2: SOURCES

Botswana National Archives (BNA)

This author is grateful to the late Isaac Schapera for allowing me to photocopy his extensive collection of Bangwaketse, Bakwena, and Bakgatla bagaMmanaaana oral traditions and genealogies in 1984. These and other materials were subsequently deposited as part of the Schapera Private Papers collection. Of particular relevance file BNA PP 1/1/10, Bakwena etc.

BNA holdings on the pre-colonial traditions of Botswana communities also includes extensive material in file S 3/1 “History of the Tswana Tribes”, which contains “History of the Bangwaketse Tribe as supplied by Tiro Motlhabane”.

Willoughby Papers, Shelly Oak College

Another important collection of early indigenous accounts of the Bangwaketse and their neighbours, notably including files 739 “Bakwena” and 740 “Bangwaketsi”

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